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Appendix to No. 10.—Second Edition.

“EMANCIPATOR”

AND

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“LIBERATOR.” A³⁹, 879



It has been said that lies oft repeated and well stuck to, answer all the purposes of truth, for the former will travel round the globe while the latter is putting on her boots, so too historical facts may be and often are perverted, and even falsified, or put wrong end foremost, which answers the same purpose, and unless corrected at the time, the generation that follows, believe them as gospel truths. Take a single case as an illustration. The two old anti-slavery papers at the head of this article, at first were in the hottest of the battle between liberty and slavery.

The “Emancipator” had to do with American chattel slavery. The “Liberator” *began* with the same work, but in the first decade of its existence abandoned chattel slavery as a specialty, and ran off into a more comprehensive abolition, embracing some four or five institutions to be abolished before slavery could be reached. to wit: the United States constitution, the sabbath, the protestant church and the ministry. The Bible was quoted by them against pro-slavery ministers and churches, but its authority was *denied* as a standard of appeal in their conventions.

In all their “antics,” the Liberator party of non-resistants, as opposed to the Emancipator party of voting abolitionists who organized as the Liberty party, were encouraged and

hounded on by slaveholders not only, but the haters of orthodoxy, infidels, corrupt politicians, and all those who believed in "resolving society into its original elements" as the logical results of the abolition of the above named institutions.

But neither of the above institutions has been abolished as everybody of common intelligence very well knows, while chattel slavery is legally dead. Hence the Emancipator and its co-laborers with their successors accomplished their work by political action while the Liberator "died a natural death," without accomplishing one of its darling objects, except talking and doing nothing else.

Now let us see which end foremost these facts are being laid before the community, sixteen years after the abolition of chattel slavery.

In the "Sunday Herald" of May 4, we find the following, under the head of "Principia:"

"Nearly forty years ago, Mr. J. W. Alden was one of the firm of Leavitt & Alden, who published an abolition paper here, called, we believe, the 'Emancipator,' and which, being obscured by Mr. Garrison's 'Liberator,' died a natural death."

This is decidedly rich. The "imformation" to the present generation that the "Emancipator" was "obscured" by the "Liberator," came not from the Principia Club, but probably from the Mutual Admiration Soceity, whose main business seems to be to place its chief in a position in history to which he has no claim, founded in justice.

In the "Daily Evening Traveller" of May 22nd, we find an article which winds up with an epitaph for the editor of the "Liberator" as "the annihilator of American slavery." What a perversion of facts! The "Liberator" was started in 1831. In the eighth year of its existence viz: 1839, and twenty-four years before American chattel slavery was annihilated,

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ted it abandoned that kind of abolition as a special work to be done, and drove the ploughshare of non-resistance through the ranks of abolitionists, and divided them into two parties, voting and non-voting. The evangelical voting element, formed the "Massachusetts Abolition Society" and established the "Massachusetts Abolitionist" as their organ, and subsequently the "Free American" was started and took its place as the organ of the "State Central Committee of the Liberty Party."

In 1841, the writer, who was Treasurer of the Society and Secretary of the Committee, was sent to New York with power to unite the "Emancipator" and "Free American," if, on investigation, he should think best to do so. In about ten days the two papers were united and published in Boston by Leavitt & Alden, and made a paying concern. On this basis the "Daily Morning Chronicle" was started, with the "Emancipator" for its weekly, backed by the State Central Committee of the Liberty Party, and went into the campaign of 1844, with James G. Birney as its candidate for President.

Preparatory to the 1848 campaign, these two papers, with some others, were united and became the property of the "Daily Evening Traveller," Boston.

The name of the Liberty Party was changed to the Free-soil Party, and again in 1856, to the Republican Party, who only wanted thirteen votes more in the electoral college to elect Freemont. In 1860 the same party, which included the above elements with additions, elected Abraham Lincoln, whose world-renowned Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, needs no comment from us.

During the war of the slaveholder's rebellion, the writer purchased the "New York Principia," a weekly anti-slavery paper, formed a joint stock company and published the paper until its work was accomplished, the war closed, and as there was no more anti-slavery work to be done, it was discontinued of course, and if you please, "died a natural

death." One of its best acts during the war was to cause the Proclamation of Emancipation after it had been sent to the printer, to be altered so as to include *justice to the negro*, as well as its *necessity as a war measure*, as a basis of Emancipation. For a more detailed account see an article in the "Daily Advertiser," in May, 1873, entitled "Honor to whom Honor," signed by the writer of these pages.

Having glanced at the doctrines and measures of the "Emancipator," its co-laborers and its legitimate successors, let us turn to the great luminary which is said to have "obscured" all this, and see what the "Liberator" and its party has been doing in the mean time.

From the time of the division in 1839, the "Liberator" party bent its energies to the abolition of certain institutions we have already named, but American Chattel Slavery was *not* on that catalogue. That must wait and the slave must toil on in bondage until all the others were destroyed. God's institutions were not thus to be destroyed, and the "Liberator" dug its own grave in its insane attempt to thwart the Divine purposes of the Creator. The constitution of the United States which was said to be "a covenant of death and a league with hell," was not *abolished* but *amended* so as to wipe out the *construction* put upon it by the slave power, and the non-government party of which the "Liberator" was the organ as long as it lived.

In justice to the men who fought out the anti-slavery battle to the bitter end, and who lived to see their labors crowned with success, but who have gone to their reward, and are not here to speak for themselves, we reiterate these corrections of perverted history. While we write more in sorrow than in anger, we cheerfully admit that Mr. Garrison talked and wrote vigorously against chattel slavery for nearly a decade in the forefront of the battle, but truth compels us to say that in the following two decades and more, he abandoned that contest as a specialty, substituted non resistance for aggressive war on slavery, by political action, left

his old co-laborers to fail, or achieve success *without* him, as they did, and now to trot him out as "the annihilator of slavery," is a fraud on present and future generations, and does great injustice to the voting abolitionists.

Indeed Mr. Garrison rendered more service to the slave power, by his opposition to the voting abolitionists during the *two last* decades of the struggle, than he damaged slavery by his advocacy of emancipation in the *first* decade.

We might as well claim him as the annihilator of abolition as that of American slavery. But he did neither. The only thing he ever did annihilate was the "Liberator."

Since the abolition of slavery in 1863, the amended constitution has made citizens of the Freedmen and put the ballot into their hands, the use of which the bulldozing states have denied them, claiming that state authority is paramount to national.

The negroes have had enough of home rule and states' rights, and hence the Exodus. They are fleeing from their oppressors by the thousands if not tens of thousands, and are met by the few remaining members of the "Liberator" non-resistant party, with the declaration that "the South is their home and there they must stay." It is added that the U. S. Government ought to protect them in their constitutional rights, and so it ought. But the poor fellows have waited sixteen years for protection, during which time their condition has been growing worse instead of better: not only has the ballot been taken from them by the states in which they reside, but the bayonets and every means of defense have also been taken from them by the national government which "ought to protect them," but has not, because it transferred its "federal bayonets" from *loyal* republicans to *rebel* bulldozers, and to all practical purposes yielded the fatal doctrine of state supremacy. The Lord be praised that the executive has waked up to his political blunder and said *no* twice in his last two veto messages, and God help him to

continue the policy of blocking the wheels of the second rebellion, which gives the north time to take breath, and the south an opportunity for a sober second thought, before plunging the country into another war.

The elements of despotism, are at this writing, (May 1879) engaged in Congress in a hand to hand fight against republicanism, and it yet remains to be seen which party will be victorius till 1880, when "we the people" will take the matter in hand and as sure as there is a God in heaven republicanism will be victorious, and counterfeit democracy will be beaten out of sight at the polls, as it was on the field of battle, in the war of the slaveholders, rebellion.

J. W. ALDEN.

Boston, May, 1879.

